

Message Text

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ORIGIN SP-02

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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FOR COVEY ONLY FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR

SUBJECT: NATIONAL PRESS CLUB DRAFT

1. BEGIN TEXT: I COME BEFORE YOU TODAY WITH MIXED

EMOTIONS -- SADNESS AND RELIEF.

2. OF COURSE MY LEAVING DOES NOT MEAN THAT MY RELATIONSHIP

WITH THE PRESS WILL BE TERMINATED. IN FACT I MAY NEED SOME

HELP FROM YOU--I WILL BE WRITING MY MEMOIRS AND A LITTLE

EXPERTISE ON THE MAKING OF MYTHS MIGHT BE USEFUL.

3. A WELL-KNOWN ENGLISH VISITOR SAID OF AMERICA EARLY IN

THIS CENTURY, "IN AMERICA A PRESIDENT GOVERNS FOR FOUR

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YEARS, BUT THE PRESS REIGNS FOREVER AND EVER." I HAVE

NEVER HAD ANY DOUBT ABOUT ANYTHING BUT THE FIRST PART OF

THAT STATEMENT. SO I AM THINKING OF ORGANIZING AN ANNUAL

HENRY A. KISSINGER MEMORIAL SEMINAR ON MANIPULATION OF

GOVERNMENT BY THE PRESS" -- AND OF COURSE IF WE DO THAT

WE WILL CONVENE IT IN SALZBURG.

4. BUT THOSE OF YOU WHO COVER THE STATE DEPARTMENT MORE
OR LESS REGULARLY WILL BE PLEASED TO KNOW THAT I HAVE DONE
YOU ONE LAST SERVICE -- I HAVE GIVEN CY VANCE A BRIEFING
ABOUT YOUR INDIVIDUAL STRENGTHS OF CHARACTER. I SET ASIDE
30 SECONDS IN ORDER TO COVER THE SUBJECT FULLY. AND,
SINCE IT IS PRIVATE, IT IS NOT COVERED BY THE LAWS OF
LIBEL.

5. BUT ONE THING I WILL MISS ABOUT BEING IN PRIVATE LIFE
IS MY DAILY SESSION WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S PRESS SPOKESMAN
PRIOR TO HIS BRIEFING. I WILL BE SORRY TO BE DEPRIVED
OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO INSTRUCT HIM EACH DAY IN THE VIRTUES
OF FRANKNESS, HONESTY AND OPENNESS.

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6. AND I WILL MISS HAVING MY STEPS DOGGED BY THE
MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT PRESS CORPS, WITH THEIR CHEERFUL
AND INQUIRING FACES -- THEY ARE A GROUP WHICH, IN P.G.
WODEHOUSE'S WORDS, IF NOT ALWAYS EXACTLY DISGRUNTLED,
IS USUALLY FAR FROM BEING GRUNTLED.

7. I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR GIVING ME THIS OPPORTUNITY
TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY THOUGHTS AT THIS TIME
OF LEAVE-TAKING. IN PARTICULAR I WANT TO SAY A FEW WORDS
ABOUT THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH GOVERNMENT, THE PRESS AND
THE PEOPLE INTERACT TO HELP SHAPE OUR FOREIGN POLICY --
ABOUT HOW WE CAN FIND THE UNITY WE NEED WHILE FOSTERING

THE DIVERSITY THAT NOURISHES OUR NATION AND PROVIDES IT
WITH ITS PROUD AND DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER. IN THIS
REGARD, OUR MOTTO "E PLURIBUS UNUM" HAS AS MUCH MEANING
TODAY AS AT ANY TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

8. I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE BRINGING MY TENURE AS
SECRETARY OF STATE TO A CLOSE HERE SURROUNDED BY THE
MEMBERS OF THE PRESS -- FOR YOU KNOW I AGREE WITH

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SCHOPENHAUER THAT THE NUMBER OF ONE'S ENEMIES IS DIRECTLY
PROPORTIONAL TO THE EXTENT OF ONE'S SUCCESS.

9. BUT TODAY, THE AMERICAN PRESS'S REACTION TO, AND
INVOLVEMENT IN, THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS IS ONE OF THE
MOST SIGNIFICANT AND TELLING DEVELOPMENTS OF THE RECENT
PERIOD.

10. INDEED, THE PRESS HAS IN THESE YEARS FULFILLED WHAT
WALTER LIPPMAN REGARDED AS ITS HIGHEST FUNCTION: "TO
BRING TO LIGHT HIDDEN FACTS, TO SET THEM INTO RELATION
WITH EACH OTHER, AND TO MAKE A PICTURE OF REALITY ON WHICH
MEN CAN ACT."

11. THIS IS A HOPEFUL SIGN AS WE CONSIDER THE SHAPE
AND AIM OF A FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURE WHICH MUST DEAL
WITH AN ERA OF GREAT UNREST AND UNCERTAINTY.

12. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN TRUE THAT A FOREIGN POLICY CAN
ULTIMATELY FIND SUCCESS ONLY IF THOSE WHO ACT FOR THE
NATION POSSESS THE MORAL AS WELL AS THE TECHNICAL MANDATE
OF THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM THEY SPEAK. THE COLLAPSE OF THE

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ESSENTIALLY ARISTOCRATIC CONCEPTION OF FOREIGN POLICY
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MADE THIS MORE THAN EVER TRUE.

13. AS WE SEEK TO DEAL WITH THIS TURBULENT TIME IT IS
EVIDENT THAT ANY INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY HAS A VITAL
PUBLIC DIMENSION -- FOR THERE IS A GROWING AWARENESS OF
ALL PEOPLES OF A HUMAN COMMUNITY; WE CONTINUE TO
EXPERIENCE A DIZZYLINGLY RAPID TECHNICAL ADVANCE IN
COMMUNICATIONS; AND THERE IS AN INCREASING APPRECIATION
OF THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND PARTICIPATION.

14. AT THE OUTSET OF THIS CENTURY THE PUBLIC, EVEN IN
THE MOST DEMOCRATIC OF COUNTRIES, WAS NOT ONLY ILL-
INFORMED BUT APATHETIC. PUBLIC OPINION REPRESENTED
ONLY AN ULTIMATE CHECK ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF POLICY-
MAKERS. FOREIGN AFFAIRS IMPLIED POLITICAL DECISIONS;
THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMIC IMPACT WAS RARELY PERCEIVED AND
HARDLY EVER INFLUENCED BY THOSE AFFECTED MOST. EXCEPT
TO A FEW SENSITIVE OBSERVERS, WAR -- EVEN AS IT INCREAS-
INGLY INVOLVED INNOCENT POPULATIONS -- WAS A CONCEIVABLE

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EXTENSION OF DIPLOMACY, AND USUALLY WAS IMMENSELY
POPULAR. THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAUCRACIES OF THE MAJOR
NATIONS WERE AN ELITE AND RESTRICTED GROUP CONDUCTING
THEIR BUSINESS WITH LITTLE OR NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY WAS LARGELY
DEPENDENT -- SEEKING ELUCIDATION, CRITICIZING PAST
DECISIONS AND ONLY INDIRECTLY INFLUENCING THE FUTURE.

15. WELL, THAT'S ALL OVER NOW.

16. TODAY, THE VERY STRUCTURE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY
PROCESS IS UNDERGOING GREAT CHANGE -- EVOLVING TO MEET
A TURBULENT AND UNCERTAIN WORLD.

17. TODAY, AS THE FATEFUL EVENTS OF RECENT YEARS HAVE
MADE CLEAR, COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS NOT JUST AN IDEAL, BUT A STARK
NECESSITY IF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL.
ONLY THROUGH A GENERAL AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF
CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS CAN WE MAINTAIN BOTH A CREATIVE
TENSION BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE POLICYMAKER -- AND

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A COMMON PURPOSE. BOTH LIE AT THE VERY HEART OF OUR
NATION'S WORK IN THE WORLD.

18. FOR MOST OF THE POSTWAR PERIOD THE NATIONAL
CONSENSUS UNDERLYING OUR FOREIGN POLICY LED TO THE
WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION THAT GOVERNMENT WAS SERVING THE
BEST INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE. THAT CONSENSUS COLLAPSED
IN THE LATE 1960'S. WE ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO REBUILD
ANOTHER.

19. AS WE DO, THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS
IS CENTRAL. AS FELIX FRANKFURTER SAID, "FREEDOM OF THE

PRESS IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT A MEANS TO THE END OF
A FREE SOCIETY." SKEPTICISM AND SCRUTINY OF PUBLIC
MEN AND POLICIES ARE GOING TO BE A VALUED AND INEVITABLE
FEATURE OF PUBLIC LIFE FOR AS FAR AHEAD AS WE CAN SEE;
WE DO NOT WANT TO RETURN TO THE UNQUESTIONING ACCEPTANCE
OF EARLIER TIMES. BUT OF ALL THE DANGERS AHEAD OF US,
I DON'T THINK WE NEED SPEND MUCH TIME WORRYING ABOUT THAT
ONE. BUT BY THIS TIME ALL OF US--POLICYMAKERS AND PRESS

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ALIKE -- CAN SEE THAT A PROCESS OF RELENTLESS SCRUTINY
WITHOUT SOME SENSE OF UNDERSTANDING CAN PERPETUATE,
INDEED MAKE PERMANENT, A SENSE OF GRIEVANCE AND HELPLESS-
NESS AMONG THE PEOPLE. WE MUST SEEK TO PUT ASIDE THE
BITTER TENSIONS OF THE RECENT PAST -- THE ASSUMPTION
THAT GOVERNMENT IS GUILTY UNTIL IT PROVES ITSELF
INNOCENT. NONE OF US WANTS TO SEE A NATION WHOSE PEOPLE
LACK FAITH IN ITS COMMITMENT TO JUSTICE. IN AN IMPERFECT
WORLD WE CANNOT DEMAND PERFECTION AS THE PRICE OF
CONFIDENCE; WE CANNOT INSIST ON OUR DISILLUSIONMENT IN
THE FACE OF INEVITABLE AMBIGUITY.

20. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN
POLICY WHICH PRESERVES THE PEACE AND FURTHERS OUR
NATIONAL INTERESTS. THEY WANT THEIR LEADERS TO SHAPE
THE FUTURE, NOT JUST MANAGE THE PRESENT. THIS REQUIRES
BOLDNESS, DIRECTION, NUANCE, AND -- ABOVE ALL --
CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

21. LET US TRY TO UNDERSTAND THE DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRATIC

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GOVERNMENT TODAY. IF WE DO, WE CAN, I BELIEVE, CONTINUE
TO REBUILD THE VITAL SENSE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE THAT HAS
BEEN ERODING OVER THE PAST DECADE.

22. AT THIS TIME, WHEN THE POLICIES OF ALL NATIONS ARE
UNDERGOING CHANGE, AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES ARE BEING
TESTED, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PRESENT TO THE PUBLIC THE
PRECISE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE ESSENCE OF THE
ANSWERS. MANY OF THE PROBLEMS WE FACE CUT ACROSS
NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, AND ARE AT THE MARGIN OF GOVERN-
MENTS ABILITY TO CONTROL. THE INCREASE OF BUREAUCRATI-
ZATION MEANS THAT QUESTIONS OF PUBLIC PURPOSE ARE OFTEN
TURNED INTO ISSUES OF INSTITUTIONAL BARGAINING. INSTANT
COMMUNICATIONS FORCE THE PACE OF EVENTS AND EXPECTATIONS.
PERSUASION -- WHICH IS CENTRAL TO DEMOCRACY -- IS VERY
DIFFICULT IN AN ERA WHEN ISSUES ARE COMPLEX AND OUTCOMES
UNCERTAIN.

23. ON THE ONE HAND, STATESMEN MUST CONSIDER A RANGE OF
IDEAS AND OPTIONS BEFORE THEY ACT: FOR THE PRESS TO

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FOCUS EXCESSIVELY ON THIS STAGE OF THE DECISION-MAKING
PROCESS CAN MISLEAD THE PUBLIC AND PROVE DISRUPTIVE TO
WHAT IS A DIFFICULT MATTER AT BEST FOR GOVERNMENT. ON THE

OTHER HAND, STATESMEN MUST ACT BEFORE CERTAINTY IS
POSSIBLE -- AT A TIME WHEN PREMISES CANNOT BE PROVED.
THEY MUST DECIDE, BUT EVEN THEN INTANGIBLES WILL
DETERMINE THE OUTCOME. PREDICTIONS ARE IMPOSSIBLE TO
PROVE; CONSEQUENCES AVOIDED ARE NEVER EVIDENT. ALL TOO
OFTEN THE RESULT IS SKEPTICISM AND SUSPICION ON THE PART
OF THE OBSERVER; THE ATMOSPHERE FOR PUBLIC DEBATE IS
CLOUDED; REASONED ARGUMENTS ARE OVERWHELMED BY A SERIES
OF CONFRONTATIONS ON PERIPHERAL ISSUES.

24. DEALING WITH SUCH SITUATIONS WILL NEVER BE EASY; A
PERFECT SOLUTION CAN NEVER BE FOUND. BUT WE CAN TRY TO
UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEXITY WHICH ALL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES
FACE -- AND PROBE FOR ITS CENTRAL UNDERLYING FACTORS.

25. NEWS REPORTS, IN THE NATURE OF THINGS, EMPHASIZE
THE SPECTACULAR AND THE TACTICAL. THEY MORE OFTEN FOCUS

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ON THE URGENT THAN ON WHAT MAY BE MORE LASTINGLY IMPOR-
TANT. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A GREATER EFFORT TO EXPLAIN
THE CONTEXT OF EVENTS, TO HAVE SOME ANALYSIS OF THEIR
SIGNIFICANCE, NOT NECESSARILY GEARED TO THE HEADLINES OF
THE MOMENT. AN IMPORTANT EXAMPLE TODAY IS THE LAW OF THE
SEA NEGOTIATIONS -- THEIR COMPLEXITY AND LACK OF IMMEDIATE
IMPACT MAKE THEM LESS APPEALING TO THE PUBLIC THAN LESSER
BUT MORE DRAMATIC EVENTS. BUT THERE IS PROBABLY
NO DIPLOMATIC PROCESS UNDERWAY TODAY THAT HOLDS MORE

SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

26. IF THE NEW ERA OF WORLD AFFAIRS CALLS US TO DEEPEN
PUBLIC AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY,
IT REQUIRES US AS WELL TO STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE THE
FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURE AMONG THE BRANCHES OF GOVERN-
MENT AND WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ITSELF. THE PAST
FEW YEARS HAVE SEEN A FASCINATION WITH PERSONALITY
STRUGGLES BETWEEN AND WITHIN THESE GROUPS. SUCH STRUGGLES
ARE AN INEVITABLE REALITY OF GOVERNMENT. BUT THE EXTENT

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OF RECENT ATTENTION HAS OFTEN EXCEEDED THAT REALITY AND
PERPETUATED OR EVEN CREATED SUCH PERSONALITY STRUGGLES.

27. THE ROLES OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES,
AND THEIR INTERACTION, ARE CENTRAL TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY
STRUCTURE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT CONGRESS AND THE
EXECUTIVE TO FIND ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT ON ISSUES OF GREAT
MOMENT. THE PUBLIC CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO HAVE AN INTEREST
IN, OR PATIENCE WITH WASHINGTON'S STRUGGLES OVER PLACE
AND PREROGATIVES. THEY WANT EVIDENCE THAT THE BUSINESS
OF THE NATION IS GOING FORWARD IN WAYS THAT SERVE THEIR
AND THEIR COUNTRY'S BEST INTERESTS.

28. COMITY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES
IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE BASIS FOR NATIONAL ACTION. THE
RECOGNITION THAT THE CONGRESS IS A COEQUAL BRANCH OF
GOVERNMENT IS A DOMINANT FACT OF NATIONAL POLITICS TODAY.
CONGRESS MUST HAVE BOTH THE SENSE AND THE REALITY OF

PARTICIPATION IN FOREIGN POLICY, FOR IT IS A SHARED

ENTERPRISE.

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29. THE EXECUTIVE MUST STRIVE TO EVOKE THE ADVICE AND
CONSENT OF CONGRESS IN THE BROADEST SENSE. CONGRESSIONAL
SUPPORT PRESUPPOSES THAT BOTH HOUSES ARE KEPT INFORMED
OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PREMISES AND PURPOSES AS WELL AS
OF THE FACTS ON WHICH ITS DECISIONS ARE BASED. BEYOND
THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENT OF ADVICE AND CONSENT,
THE ROLE OF LEGISLATION AND APPROPRIATIONS IS NOT ONLY
TRADITIONAL BUT A VITAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE TASK OF
DEFINING THE BASIC DIRECTIONS OF POLICY.

30. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT
THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS -- DELIBERATION, DEBATE AND
STATUTORY LAW -- IS MUCH LESS WELL SUITED TO DETAILED
SUPERVISION OF DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF DIPLOMACY. THIS
IS WHY THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS HAS ALWAYS BEEN
PREEMINENTLY AN EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, WHILE THE
NATIONAL COMMITMENTS AN AGREEMENT ENTAILS MUST
NECESSARILY HAVE LEGISLATIVE AND PUBLIC SUPPORT.

31. THE EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE

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BONDS IS COMPLICATED BY THE NEW CHARACTER OF THE
CONGRESS. NEW PRINCIPLES OF PARTICIPATION AND ORGANI-

ZATION ARE TAKING HOLD. THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSMEN AND
SENATORS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES HAS
EXPANDED BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL COMMITTEES. THE COM-
MITTEES THAT ONCE PRIMARILY CONCERNED THEMSELVES WITH
FOREIGN POLICY MAY NO LONGER BE THE PRIMARY CONGRESSIONAL
GROUP CONCERNED WITH A PARTICULAR ISSUE. INDEED,
COALITIONS FORM AND SHIFT AND RE-FORM TO DEAL WITH
PARTICULAR EVENTS OR ISSUES AS THEY ARISE. THERE IS NO
LONGER A CENTRAL LEADERSHIP THAT CAN SPEAK FOR THE BODY
AS A WHOLE; AND TRADITIONAL PROCEDURES MAY NO LONGER PROVE
ADEQUATE TO AN INCREASINGLY INDIVIDUALISTIC MEMBERSHIP.
BUT IF OLD PATTERNS ARE IN FLUX, NOW IS THE TIME FOR BOTH
BRANCHES TO CONCERT TO FASHION NEW PRINCIPLES AND
PRACTICES OF COLLABORATION, FOR ALL AMERICA'S LEADERS ARE
BOUND BY A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE BROAD NATIONAL INTEREST
WHICH FREQUENTLY MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE CONCERNS

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AND GOALS OF SPECIAL INTERESTS AND GROUPS. WE MUST
UNDERSTAND THE REALITY OF CHANGE AND SEEK TO DEAL WITH IT
COOPERATIVELY AND RESPONSIBLY -- FOR WHEN OTHER COUNTRIES
LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES, THEY MUST SEE ONE NATION.
TOGETHER, CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE, TO KEEP FAITH WITH
THE PEOPLE, MUST STRIVE FOR MODERATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT
-- AND ENDEAVOR TO REESTABLISH OUR FOREIGN POLICY AS A
NATIONALLY SHARED CAUSE. TOGETHER, WE CAN, AS LIPPMAN

SAID, STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE DISCERNMENT OF
"A REALM OF BEING SOVEREIGN ABOVE THE INFINITE NUMBER OF
CONTRADICTORY AND COMPETING PRIVATE WORLDS."

32. IF CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE MUST FORGE A MORE
PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ITSELF MUST
IMPROVE ITS OWN INTERNAL OPERATIONS. THE VARIOUS FOREIGN
AFFAIRS BUREAUCRACIES HAVE A SPECIAL AND IN SOME WAYS A
NOVEL RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP FORGE A UNIFIED FOREIGN
POLICY EVEN AS WE RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR VARYING
PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS. THE TASK IS NOT TO FOCUS ON

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THE PROBLEMS OF BUREAUCRATIC HIERARCHY, OR JURISDICTION
OR PRESTIGE, BUT TO PRODUCE THE KIND OF WORK THAT THIS
ERA OF CHALLENGE DEMANDS.

33. A CENTRAL FACTOR IN THIS EFFORT WILL BE THE KIND OF
RELATIONS BUILT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT PROFESSIONALS AND
OUTSIDE APPOINTEES. BOTH SERVE THE PUBLIC; BOTH HAVE A
VITAL ROLE TO PLAY. I BECAME KEENLY AWARE OF THIS AT
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. WHAT SECRETARY OF STATE HAS NOT
DEVELOPED A RELATIONSHIP OF KEEN AMBIVALENCE WITH THE
CLUB OF FOREIGN SERVICE PROFESSIONALS WHO COMMUNICATE
WITH EACH OTHER IN STRANGE AND WONDROUS WAYS, AND WHO
UNDERNEATH THEIR POLISHED MANNER SHOW A MARVELOUS -- AND
AT TIMES PERVERSE -- PERSISTENCE? THEY BLEND EFFICIENCY
AND A COMMITMENT TO EXHAUSTING PROCEDURES. THEY PRESENT
OPTIONS THAT LEAVE NO CHOICE, AND IMMERSE DOCUMENTS IN

CLEARANCES THAT FIX NO RESPONSIBILITY. YET ULTIMATELY,
WHAT SECRETARY OF STATE HAS NOT CONCEDED ADMIRATION --
HOWEVER GRUDGING -- FOR PERSEVERENCE BORN OF DEEP

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PATRIOTISM, PROCEDURES DESIGNED TO ARREST ILL-CONSIDERED
JUDGMENT, AND DEDICATION TO GREAT IDEALS TIRELESSLY
PURSUED.

34. IN THE THREE YEARS I HAVE BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE,
I HAVE WITNESSED THE RETURN OF THE BODIES OF THREE
FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS KILLED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF
DUTIES ACCEPTED WITHOUT QUESTION. EACH HAS BEEN
REPLACED BY A COLLEAGUE EQUALLY DEVOTED TO HIS SERVICE
AND TO HIS COUNTRY. AND FOR EACH OFFICER WHO WENT, THERE
WERE MANY WHO WERE PREPARED TO GO EQUALLY UNQUESTIONINGLY
IF CALLED. THEY ALL DESERVE THE NATION'S THANKS. AND,
IMPOSSIBLE AS IT MAY SEEM TO THEM, THEY HAVE MY DEEP
ADMIRATION AND MY AFFECTION.

35. OF COURSE, THERE IS AN INEVITABLE TENSION BETWEEN
THOSE WHO COME TO GOVERNMENT FROM PRIVATE LIFE AND WHO
WILL RETURN, AND THOSE WHOSE CAREER IS HERE. BUT IT IS
A DYNAMIC TENSION. IT HONES THE ABILITIES AND MUTUALLY
REINFORCES THE PERFORMANCE OF EACH. BOTH SERVE, IN

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DIFFERENT WAYS, THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE CAREERIST OFFERS CONTINUITY, PROFESSIONALISM,
EXPERTISE, AND A LONG-TERM VIEW OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST.
THOSE WHO COME FROM OUTSIDE BRING FRESH IDEAS, A MORE
DIRECT LINK TO THE PEOPLE, AND THE ABILITIES OF INDE-
PENDENT ACHIEVEMENT. IN THEIR INTERACTION, AS IN THE
SOMETIMES COMMON, SOMETIMES CONTENTIOUS EFFORT OF ALL
THOSE IN PUBLIC SERVICE, A CREATIVE BALANCE MUST BE
STRUCK -- BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND UNION, BETWEEN FREEDOM
AND ORDER. IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE CHARACTERIZATION
OF AMERICA AS A PROCESS IN WHICH "OUT OF MANY, COMES ONE":
ONE NATION, ONE PURPOSE, ONE COMMITMENT TO PRESERVE THE
RIGHTS AND PROMOTE THE DIVERSE INTERESTS OF MANY.

36. OURS IS PERHAPS A MORE COMPLICATED AND DANGEROUS
TIME THAN EARLIER ERAS, FOR WE ARE FACED INTERNATIONALLY
WITH THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES OF WAR AND SIMULTANEOUSLY
WITH A NEW RANGE OF GLOBAL ISSUES. AND HOW WE MANAGE THE
CONJUNCTION OF THE TWO CAN AFFECT NOT ONLY OUR LIVES

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AND WELFARE, BUT THAT OF THE PLANET ITSELF. THE FABRIC
AND SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS ARE UNDERGOING DRASTIC
CHANGE; THE CHOICES WE FACE SEEM DRAMATICALLY COMPLICATED;
EVERY EVENT CAN TOUCH ANOTHER.

37. TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO THE AUTHORS OF THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE DREW UPON A GREAT HERITAGE
OF HUMAN LIBERTY TO CREATE A NATION DEDICATED TO PROTECT

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE INALIENABLE HUMAN RIGHTS. TODAY,
A NEW GENERATION MUST EXPLORE AGAIN THE ISSUES OF INDIVI-
DUAL LIBERTY AND COMMON RESPONSIBILITY AND PURPOSE --
AND IN AN ERA WHEN SOCIETIES HAVE GROWN VASTLY IN SIZE,
COMPLEXITY, AND DYNAMISM. MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY,
THOUGH FOUNDED IN FREEDOM AND OFFERING PROSPERITY,
REQUIRES CONSTANT VIGILANCE OF THOSE WHO CARE FOR FREEDOM.

THE TECHNICAL COMPLEXITY OF PUBLIC ISSUES CHALLENGES THE
FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY. MASS MEDIA AND THE WEAKENING
OF PARTY AND GROUP STRUCTURES FURTHER THE ISOLATION OF
THE INDIVIDUAL AND TEST DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES. THE

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BUREAUCRATIC STATE POSES A FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE TO
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND RESPONSIVENESS TO PUBLIC WILL.
AMERICA'S TASK, AND THE UNIQUE GIFT OF AMERICA AND OUR
DEMOCRATIC ALLIES IS TO FIND THE BALANCE -- TO FEND OFF
THOSE WHOSE GOALS ARE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL ONLY;
AND SIMULTANEOUSLY TO ENSURE THAT THE CENTER DOES HOLD
EVEN AS A MULTITUDE OF PURPOSES THRIVE.

38. AMERICA IS FORTUNATE AS WE FACE THESE CHALLENGES,
FOR WE ARE AT HOME WITH COMPLEXITY, WITH ARDUOUS CHALLENGE;
WE, OF ALL GREAT MODERN NATIONS, ARE COMMITTED TO
PLURALISM, TO BALANCING THE IDEAL AND THE PRAGMATIC, TO
CONTAINING POWER THROUGH CHECKS AND BALANCES. AS OTHER
NATIONS HAVE ENTERED THE MODERN AGE THEY HAVE RESPONDED
TO GROWING COMPLEXITY AND INCREASING DEMANDS ON GOVERN-

MENT BY RATIONALIZING AUTHORITY AND CENTRALIZING POWER.

AMERICA, IN CONTRAST, HAS REMAINED COMMITTED, WHATEVER

THE COST IN EFFICIENCY, TO DIVIDED SOVEREIGNTY, TO

SEPARATED POWER, TO DIVERSITY AMONG PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

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-- BUT ALWAYS IN THE SERVICE OF HIGHER, SHARED, GOALS.

39. WE HAVE DONE SO BECAUSE THOSE WHO FOUNDED THIS

COUNTRY DREW STRENGTH FROM A GREAT TRADITION OF LIBERTY

AND FROM A GREAT VISION OF A BETTER WORLD TO COME. WE

CONTINUE TO DO SO BECAUSE WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE TRUE

PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT IS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE, AND NOT THE

REVERSE. AMERICANS ARE A STRAIGHTFORWARD PEOPLE. BUT

THE FOUNDING FATHERS, INSPIRED BY THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

KNEW, AS HERACLITUS SAID, THAT "THAT WHICH

DIFFERS WITH ITSELF CAN BE IN AGREEMENT: HARMONY

CONSISTS OF OPPOSING TENSION, LIKE THAT OF THE BOW AND

THE LYRE."

40. THIS NATION EVEN NOW IS DEMONSTRATING ITS

RESPONSIBILITY AND ITS DESTINY -- CONFIRMING THAT OUR

GREAT TRADITION LIVES. WE SEE A PRESIDENT WHO, WITH A

VISION OF OUR DEEPEST VALUES, HAS STEADIED AND CALMED

A COUNTRY RIVEN BY A GRAVE SERIES OF CRISES. AND WE SEE

A PRESIDENT-ELECT TAKE ON THE HOPES OF A NATION CONFIDENT

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IN THE PROGRESSIVE FULFILLMENT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.

41. TODAY, AMERICA IS AT PEACE. WE HAVE STRONG

DEFENSES, STRONG ALLIANCES, AND THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A

FOREIGN POLICY THAT CAN UNITE OUR PEOPLE, AND MEET

THE VAST CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW. WE ARE STABILIZING

THE STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND PUSHING BACK THE SPECTER OF

NUCLEAR WAR. WE HAVE HELPED BUILD THE FRAMEWORK FOR

PEACE WHERE LOCAL CONFLICTS ENDANGER GLOBAL STABILITY.

OUR LINKS TO OUR MAJOR PARTNERS, THE INDUSTRIAL

DEMOCRACIES OF THE WORLD, ARE SOLID, AND NOW RANGE

BEYOND SECURITY INTO COOPERATION ON THE NEW CHALLENGE

OF INTERDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE BEGUN AN HISTORIC EFFORT

TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR NATIONS ON THE

BASIS OF ECONOMIC EQUITY AND COMMON PROGRESS. WE ARE

SHAPING GLOBAL RESPONSES TO THE NEW RANGE OF CHALLENGES

THAT TRANSCEND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES TO AFFECT OUR ENTIRE

PLANET AND ITS PEOPLES. AND WE ARE REASSERTING AMERICA'S

POSITION AS A BEACON TO ALL PEOPLES WHO CARE FOR LIBERTY

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AND JUSTICE.

42. NOW IT IS WITHIN OUR REACH TO FURTHER CURTAIL THE

ARMS RACE; TO HELP RESOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICTS SUCH AS IN

THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA; TO DEEPEN OUR

COMMON ENDEAVORS WITH OUR ALLIES; TO EXPAND THE

CONSTRUCTIVE OPENINGS WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES; AND

TO SEE THE SHAPING OF A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION TO MEET THE COMPELLING ISSUES OF OUR TIME.

43. OUR NEXT PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE CAN DO
MUCH. BUT THEY MUST HAVE THE UNDERSTANDING AND THE
COOPERATION NOT ONLY OF ALL WHO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH
FOREIGN POLICY, BUT OF ALL AMERICANS -- FOR TODAY OUR
COUNTRY'S WORK IN THE WORLD AFFECTS EVERY CITIZEN. THE
PEOPLE, THE PRESS, THE CONGRESS, THE ADMINISTRATION --
ALL MUST COME TOGETHER IN A NEW PUBLIC SPIRIT OF
COOPERATION AND PURPOSE. LET US GIVE PRESIDENT CARTER,
SECRETARY VANCE, AND ALL THOSE WHO WILL SOON TAKE ON
THE BURDENS AND THE OPPORTUNITIES OF LEADERSHIP OUR

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COMPASSION -- AND OUR COMMITMENT -- TO WORK TOGETHER IN
THE CAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF ALL MANKIND.

44. FOR MYSELF, MY FIRST THOUGHT EXPRESSED TO CONGRESS
WHEN I BECAME SECRETARY OF STATE WAS OF THOSE WHO
PRECEDED ME -- JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE; AND MORE
RECENTLY MARSHALL, ACHESON, DULLES, HERTER, RUSK, ROGERS.
THESE MEN, HOWEVER DIFFERENT, EPITOMIZED ONE FUNDAMENTAL
REALITY: THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
TRANSCENDS PARTIES AND ADMINISTRATIONS; THAT IT IS EVER-
CAPABLE OF RENEWAL FOR IT REPRESENTS THE IDEALS, THE
PURPOSES AND THE HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FOR
LIBERTY AND FOR UNITY.

45. THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL AND HOPE WILL NEVER END;

I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN A PART OF IT. MY SUCCESSOR

AND HIS SUCCESSORS WILL CARRY IT FORWARD. AS THEY DO,

I WISH THEM THE BEST.

46. THANK YOU. END TEXT
ROBINSON

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